1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks? Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

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[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

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[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive.

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away.

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside.

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to

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[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the wide world.

[186] The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural [463] pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are [702] farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 829 186 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible universe. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 511 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 [829] Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 184 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

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[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 version of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and merchant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picturesque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, chorikos,* derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approximations of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of overidealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of burdens and dull plodders through life.[1]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland, away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* interchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local political units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens, whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over 20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more attention than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peasant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways. And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily

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[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
●184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
174 objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is
[191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak
[197] Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock;
[854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

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[The Greek Villager]

from a distant island or an isolated mainland village. On the other hand, almost every village home contains photographs of relatives who have taken on the habits of the city. All islanders are not seafarers, for the majority of those in the larger islands live from the soil as do the peasants of the mainland. There is thus a lively interdependence among the urbanite, the seafarer, and the villager.

This interdependence, not always recognized by the Greeks themselves, has a fascination for the Western observer who is curious about the working of a society other than his own. For him the panorama of Greece is a source of enchantment. Now brilliant, now shadowy, through it the thread of tradition runs. Who are the carriers of this continuity? What has insulated the thread against time? It is doubtful whether the answers can be found in the clear, cold, statistical analysis of the social scientist. But an observer trained in the scientific method, with a background of Greek history and literature and an acquaintance with modern Greece that began with a first visit there thirty years ago, may be able to give interpretations and insights helpful to those interested in contemporary Greece.

Such interpretations may even have a broader implication. The Greeks differ in innumerable ways from Asian peoples and from those of the Middle East and Africa. Nevertheless, most Greeks on the mainland live in villages which are much closer in tempo and quality of life to villages on other continents than to anything one can find in the United States. They work small plots of land, scattered in strips around their villages, as do many rural people throughout the world, in sharp contrast to the mechanized American farm of several hundred acres; they know the meaning of hunger, of poverty, of the catastrophe of war and violence, which most Americans fortunately have not had to experience, but which is all too common in the newly developing countries; they also face many of the same problems of relationship to the central government and its services, of accepting or rejecting national programs of rural change.

To know the rural Greek, therefore, is to know more about rural humanity, most of which lives in a different social world from our own city-dominated society. Village people want to be seen not as cannon fodder, potential customers, religious or political converts, but as parents hoping for a better life for their children, as farmers wishing better yields to feed the family until next harvest, as new citizens — not yet secure in their franchise — learning the rudiments of the political process. Even more important, they want to be seen as individuals, with all the rich color this word conveys.

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One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates.

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo.

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods.

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter.

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote:

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which

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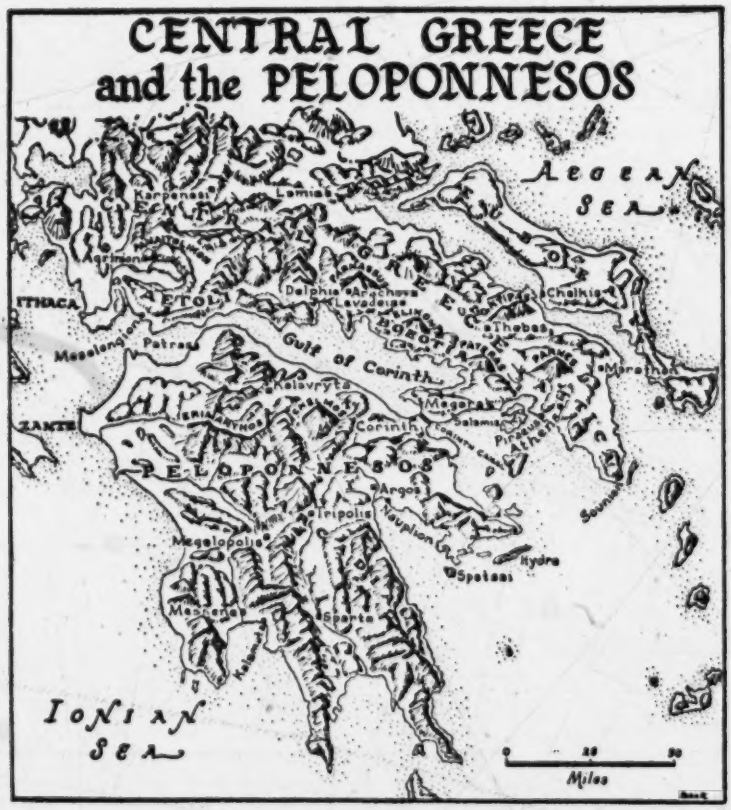

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would have normally been paid to the mountain people, to Patras and sold it for its weight in gold. As a result, the highland villagers faced serious difficulties.

About this time a band of five young guerrillas came by the village and demanded hospitality. The villagers took them in and killed a lamb so that they could dine in plenty. After a few months, the same band put in another appearance, but this time the people could only provide a cock for the dinner. On the third visit, much later on, a wheat dish had to be the main course. Finally, on a fourth visit, when the members of the band were served only onions and garlic, they turned to the villagers and said: "You are hungry. Do you see those villages on the plain below? Why don't you go down there and take the food away from them, take their land, and let them come up here and live?"

An old villager answered: "Yes, we may be able to go down there and beat

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them now and begin to live in their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can."

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains.

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are:

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it."

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna-

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tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supplying food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later discussion of village wars, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they contribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[16] Students of the problem seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138 miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

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One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns."

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea.

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her.

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today.

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Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years, plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

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When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma,* found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture.

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?"

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu-

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342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] [333] [178] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

[712] Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[13]

342 184 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendicular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] [251] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the basement where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

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Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles:

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the sabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built.

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked.

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico.

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even to the extent of sleeping on the portico, on the roof balcony, or anywhere else where they found it comfortable. As a matter of fact, some students of the Greek house think the court the basic element, and the other parts of the house an adaptation to it and to the other needs connected with the individual peasant's kind of agriculture. Where the court is covered with flagstones, it serves for a longer season than do those that turn to mud after the fall or spring rains begin.

The court is separated from the street by some kind of wall or a fence of holm-oak branches. In the plains villages these walls, like the houses, are of mud brick. They too are white-washed a brilliant white on the Monday of Holy Week before Easter. Later on, when the rains come and the white-wash wears away, the walls take on a drabness that made travelers from early times on down to our day describe these plains villages as unattractive. Where the walls are well kept, where there are attractive tiled gateways — as in Macedonia — large enough for the wagon to drive through, the yards behind have a mysterious and richer look.

The village setting is part of the Greek peasant's physical adjustment to the land. Throughout Greece there are many variations in the appearances of the settlements due to differences in terrain, location, and communication. Villages set in the shadow of a towering mountain and surrounded by a forest of firs have a snug look; those whose green trees and vines are the only cool color in a vast stretch of hot brown fields invite one to stop and rest; those which stand proudly on the brow of a hill seem to be keeping a watchful eye on the farmlands lying around. Others, perched on some airy height, dare you to climb and visit them, and anyone doing so will be surprised to find that behind the village there is a broad shoulder of the mountain which provides good farmland to those willing to live there on the heights. For many villages the dark blue sea is part of the setting, even though none of the villagers may be able to swim a stroke. Whatever the location, the villager has the deep belief that his village site is the best possible one. The water of his village is the best-tasting in the world, and in moments of homesickness when he is away from his native place he would give anything for a drink of that water again and for a chance to see the incomparable view from his village.

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type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family, young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional variations are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security. On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage. In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

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[V]

The Peasant at Work

A description of how the land is owned and what it grows gives only one side of the agricultural picture. To round out the chapter just concluded, one needs to see the peasants at work, to follow them from tobacco field to olive orchard, to see how they plow and harvest, and what they do to the part of the earth they own. As they live and work in their small fields, the peasants develop their own way of looking at man and the world. This sets them off from the city dweller or the seafarer, for certain basic rural attitudes prevail all over Greece whether the farmer's energy goes into producing citrus fruits and olives in the south or tobacco and hardy grains in the north. Closeness to the land in the physical and often in the spiritual sense is one such attitude already described. Matching this is the villager's closeness to the changing seasons and weather and his dependence on them. For a truly genuine account we rely again upon T. K. Papaspyropoulos, who has vividly described contemporary life in Kleitoria. The entire following section on the seasons is a translation of his words.

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184
127

The Cycle of the Seasons in the Peloponnesos

Winter. During winter we have finished all our tasks and we gather in our homes. We have sown, we have gathered our maize, beans, and what other goods God has given us — onions, garlic, potatoes, quince, pomegranates, and so on. We have put our cheese to age; we have rendered our

221
[241]
[252]

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[VII]

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

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the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

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does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

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861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where
184 the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about
184 the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by personal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

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262 [432] in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 [146] Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] [855] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[6]

262 264 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm porridge. 251 Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 [574] [146] Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occasion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 184 [146] Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 572 184 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on

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Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

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291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear homemade underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a [609] hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 [461] [527] [286] Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 286 [437] Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 517 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 184 [438] The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

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and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

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753 776 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, — from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 759 [793] For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest, who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particular charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 [868] 755 757 [184] A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters, although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia, a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 793 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane person out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

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for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyme, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[3]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[4] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[5]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[6] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

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TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements.	Women should be 18 before marriage.
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid.
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the

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584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

583 In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were [243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of [465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

594 "It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee [571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries [438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra*, or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[6] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what [583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of ● 184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers 178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

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Syros (island): I will not marry if my parents object.

Central Peloponnesos: In my village the young people pick their own mates. Twenty years ago the parents picked the mates but we still have to get parental consent as a matter of courtesy. We have no matchmaker in our village. You find these near the cities where people make money in such matters.

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Macedonia: I would marry whom I picked out for I am going to have to live with her. I don't see why my parents will object, for I am going to pick out someone who is respectable. [Second speaker:] I have loved a girl from an early age and, if my father objects, I will marry her anyway since I am the one who has to live with my wife and my father can live with his old woman. "But what if your father disinherits you?" I will marry and do without his fields.

Northern Peloponnesos: If I see a girl whom I want to marry I will go directly to the girl's parents. If the girl accepts me, then my parents will go to arrange for the marriage. "What do you say when you talk to her parents?" I have seen your daughter and would like her for a wife. Could you find out if she likes me and if so would you accept me? By doing it this way, the rest of the village does not know that a boy has been turned down. But boys are always accepted unless they have done something very bad.

These comments from the young men themselves illustrate that one could divide the villages of Greece, and the families within the villages, according to the way mate selection is carried out. First, there are still villages where the young people have almost nothing to say about whom they are to marry and leave the matter up to the parents entirely. For example, in another group interview of nineteen young men, five said that they would expect their fathers to select their wives. One young man said, "I'll follow my father's selection since no father would want bad for his son." Villages where such views predominate are becoming fewer all of the time and tend to be found where the economy is based upon livestock production, including the nomadic shepherd tribes. Second, there are villages where parental consent is essential but where the young men are expected to take the initiative, suggest to their parents the names of the prospective bride, and let them carry on the negotiations from there. Almost nowhere does the girl have the right of initiative, although in some villages she would not be forced to marry anyone to whom she had strong objection, unless there were overriding family or economic considerations. Third, there are villages where the young people make the decision almost entirely on their own but expect their parents to agree, nevertheless being ready to strike out on their own should the parents prove "unreasonable" and try to prevent the marriage.

The peasants look at the changing marriage scene in terms of "marriage for love" and "arranged marriages." What they really mean by the first term is active participation of the young people in mate selection, but they

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so limited. In the village of Laina, near Thessalonike, people said of a girl: "Every boy in the village wants to marry her; she is from a good family and has five hundred golden sovereigns as a dowry."

Another informant, describing the village from which she came, also cited the importance of family background. In her village "the boy wants a mate who will be a good tidy housewife, attractive, strong enough for field work; money comes in but is last. The family background is very important. If there are two girls, equally attractive, and one brings a bigger dowry and the other comes from a better family, the boy will choose the latter. The girl, on the other hand, wants a fast worker and does not mind too much about his family's reputation or even his own if she thinks him kind and considerate enough not to make her go out and work; he shouldn't gamble or drink (too much); his looks don't matter, but he should be loyal and not more than five or six years older. If a woman marries a man younger than herself, there is a lot of gossip at first but it then quiets down. The girl knows about a man from hearsay."

There are undoubtedly regional differences in the emphases placed upon the traits most sought after in one's prospective mate, as was borne out when I asked sixteen soldiers stationed near the Albanian border what they would rank first in choosing a wife. Those from around Kavalla and in other parts of Northern Greece placed honor first, being a good housekeeper second, and beauty third. Those from the Peloponnesos and the island of Chios stated beauty, honor, and money in that order, while a man from Thessaly said that in his village the dowry or money would be first. A Cretan listed beauty at the top. But the danger of an easy generalization from such comments as these should be avoided, even though they do correspond fairly well to those made by well-informed Greek home economists for two of the areas mentioned above: "Around Kavalla, for instance, if a girl's father offers a big dowry, she will first want someone from outside the village and does not care too much about his looks. He doesn't have to be an Apollo. If she is considering someone from her own village she asks about his family, his looks, and his reputation.[6] The village man pays more attention to looks and wants to be sure that his wife will be a good worker. In the bigger towns he is more concerned with the dowry. Around Larissa (Thessaly) questions of love are secondary, for the man there is more interested in the dowry. If the girl has a 'fortune,' or large dowry, she is apt to choose someone from the town and may expect the husband to come and live in her village. But it is not uncommon for a man and wife to sell her land to build a house in the city."

Some of these regional differences in emphasis take on new light when one sees that the dowry consists of different property in various parts of Greece.

Usually, the eldest sister is supposed to marry first, followed by the next

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582 583 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no installment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furniture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

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184 583 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla, the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

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As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

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provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets
6 sheets
12 pairs pillow cases
15–16 towels
2 big rugs
6 rag rugs
6 big sauce pans
3 medium pans
3 small pans
1 big frying pan
1 medium frying pan
2 round cake pans
2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 of each piece of cutlery
Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

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585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

● [184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

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of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get [305] a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into [302] curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts [184] a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in [777] Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-5/1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques.

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury."

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places.

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village, 871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and [554] gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influ- [242] ence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia, who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is cherished," he concluded.

871 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences 184 in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a [231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from Southern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted: "The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in the Peloponnesos."

[175] But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better education. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the [875] state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated. But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

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Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see.

Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church.

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

795 which are found throughout the Balkans, speaks of the rich texture of Christianity there, which came to the Balkan nations in the shape of 184 Byzantine Orthodoxy and which meant a particular culture, comprising art, literature, and theology, in the service of the Church.[3]

One has only to review the brief description of the peasant and nature or the peasant approach to sickness and child care in earlier chapters to see how lively is the environment for any peasant who believes in the Evil Eye or the omens of spiders, birds in flight, or the hooting of an owl.[4] The peasant, instead of being made over into some sort of revolutionary Christian image, was able to take early Christianity and make it over into the even earlier Greek image. That is what survives in rural Greece today.

The educated Greek went through almost the same process, but on a much more sophisticated level. Instead of equating the sun god with St. Elijah, he equated Platonic teachings with the doctrines of St. Paul. Thanassis Aghnides sets forth this theme:

> As regards religious life, let us not forget that the New Testament was written in Greek, and most of the principles of Christianity are loans from Greek moral philosophy. Plato's ideas could find no better means of diffusion in the world than the New Testament.
>
> Thus a Greek never feels that the Christian religion is a Jewish gift to the world. When he reads the New Testament he is reminded of the highest precepts of the Greek classical period. Here again the modern Greek is not very conscious of the lines of demarcation between the high precepts of Christianity, and, let us say, those of Socrates. The latter's principles and those of the Galilean are derived from the same source. The modern Greek is confusedly aware of this. He may not say it in as many words but he feels the modern ethical standards of the Christian world as being part and parcel of his own heritage from his classical ancestors.[5]

In support of this point of view among the peasants, I can mention the consternation shown by some Greek village women when, for the first time, they learned that Christ was a Jew. They had always assumed that he was Greek and would not believe otherwise until they had gone to check with the priest.

795 Orthodoxy and Greekness are tied in together not only because of the
619 continuity between ancient traditions and Christian doctrine; the Orthodox
659 Church was also the vehicle through which Greekness was preserved under alien conquerors. Church and politics went hand in hand. The Greek Orthodox Church, which was the basic institution of the Byzantine Empire, continues as such within the modern Greek nation, and contemporary Greeks, like the Byzantines, find it hard to accept political ideas which do not assume the complete unification of church and state. Today the church is still an integral part of the Greek government, its affairs administered [793] within the Ministry of Education and Religion, the salaries of the clergy

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177 369 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so urbanized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

From Peasant to Farmer

184 241 [178] In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 241 511 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

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commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

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● 184 lity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
454 will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
241 belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
594 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
184 but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
464 time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechaniza-
184 tion is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

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or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm.

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town.

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm.

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down.

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi-

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178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
●184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
369 better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
665 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
829 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some countries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
178 peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
82 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
184 growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
156 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

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when public opinion has been structured to favor a course of action, it is hard for recalcitrant individuals to hold out for long.

A third attitudinal shift might be characterized as that from the sacred to the secular. In social science, these terms have their specialized meanings. A sacred society, such as an extreme peasant type is supposed to be, relies almost entirely on custom and tradition as the guide to what is right and wrong, proper and improper. The elders are respected, for they are the repositories of wisdom from the past and can interpret to others what should be done, whether in the family circle or in communal affairs. The modern farmer, on the other hand, lives in a secular society in the sense that the rational, scientific test is applied to his economic choices. He does not ask at what stage of the moon's cycle he is supposed to put seed potatoes in the ground, but uses other criteria for determining this. Furthermore, if a young man knows more than an older man about a matter of concern to him, the older man will listen just as eagerly to the young man.

Finally, the peasant's feeling of security, based almost entirely on kinship and the mutual aid of neighbors, gives way to the farmer's reliance on his own efforts plus an organized system of crop and fire insurance, governmental pension plans, and membership in associations and cooperatives of various types which help him weather whatever economic storms he encounters. This leads to much greater social interdependence, which carries with it possibilities both for good and for difficulty. Once there is any breakdown in the social network, the price mechanism, or the system of delivery of which the farmer is a part, he is at the mercy of forces which he as an individual cannot control. At the same time, when these forces do work well, he is assured of a level of living far beyond the peasant's fondest dreams and a sense of participation in an ever-expanding social universe.

Anyone who has read through the book thus far is familiar with the wide range which different regions of Greece represent on this peasant-farmer continuum. Even more important, the following of any single Greek villager through his daily rounds would indicate that no villager holds to these peasant traits in their entirety, nor have any of them moved to commercial farming to the extent represented by much of American agriculture. One thing is certain: those that have been primarily of the peasant mold are moving from many of these traits into those more closely approximating the modern farmer. This movement goes on at an uneven rate and points up much inconsistency in village behavior. But social change inevitably works itself out at this uneven tempo, and planning from on high in Athens seems to do little to smooth out the jagged course of modernization. Recent trips to Greece reinforce my earlier impressions that farming in the Greek countryside is becoming much more scientific because of the very successful programs of planned change previously described, as well as because of the dynamic quality of the Greek villager himself. The Greek

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178 peasant is rapidly becoming a farmer. But what about those who leave the
184 village, displaced by the machine or attracted by opportunities elsewhere? What transformation do they have to go through if they are to adjust to urban and industrial life?

From Villager to Urbanite

369 Although this study of Greek life has concentrated upon the village, some observations about villagers transplanted to the city have relevance to foreign aid as a force for change. If farm workers are displaced by the machine, they tend to gravitate toward population centers where they hope to find work as general laborers or to follow some small skill they may have acquired. The coming of factories usually means some migration of labor, much of it frequently stemming from the rural areas. In fact, in the Western sense, to industrialize means to de-ruralize.

Any foreign-aid program, therefore, which creates new urban centers or leads to the movement of rural people to older centers in search of jobs is introducing not only a type but a tempo of change that must be taken into account in the allocation of economic resources. Some funds will undoubtedly have to be used to ease the transition for those making the move if they are not to become a discontented proletariat. This becomes more evident when we see what happens when a villager becomes an urbanite.

One of the first effects is for the villager to find himself immersed in a much more heterogeneous society. Occupations are more numerous, specialization is greater, and social extremes — the rich and the very poor — are more pronounced than anything he had experienced in the village. There is an intoxicating excitement in the possibilities that seemingly lie before him, although he realizes early in his stay that lack of training and insufficient income limit the realization of many of the more desirable alternatives. He comes face to face with people deriving from different cultural backgrounds, encounters different religious and ethnic groupings, and can participate in recreational pursuits not known in his native village. This richness, this complexity of urban life often calls for living techniques not acquired in the village. As a substitute, therefore, those recently arrived from rural areas may live with others of their kind in a semifolk environment in parts of cities where they are to some degree insulated from the total impact that the city might make upon them.

A second effect of migration to the city is that life becomes job-focused. One's fortune rests not only on the kind of job one has but frequently upon the mere fact of having a job or not. As a peasant back on the farm he had many tasks to perform, but these varied with the season and could often be done at a time of his choosing, within limits. But as an employee, whether a general laborer on a construction project or a worker in a factory, he moves into a different way of life. He must subscribe to a new type

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prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

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4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

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3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a volume in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou choriou mou: Perista, Navpaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessaloniki, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

171
8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith.

9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 105 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

[162] Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the [197] inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the [122] Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us [123] live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with [184] other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural [171] settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) X43 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Clothing

178 291 [511] [292] [427] Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most important item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is clothing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their childhood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 [177] [369] [626] [292] [177] Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter overcoats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 [184] [511] [302] [765] [554] There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth. They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay. Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

milordos Thomas Alcock, comments unfavourably on the attire of the monks: "the want of neatness in the persons of these people", he remarks, "is too conspicuous", a failing our traveller denounces as one of the sure consequences of "an unnatural and unsocial life". Thomas Alcock, it is hardly necessary to add, found the mode of life and habits of Greek monks "little agreeable". "They flatter themselves", he writes, "that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove." Whatever may have been the condition of the monks of Megaspelaion in 1829, certainly to-day the great poverty which afflicts many of the surviving communities is sufficient explanation of some want of neatness in their members.

The costume which I have thus briefly described, inner and outer *rason* and the appropriate form of *kalymmafchion*, is the customary outdoor dress of the Greek ecclesiastic, regardless of his status or office: of the aspiring archimandrite, in silken gown and with rolled umbrella and brief-case, who hovers discreetly about the chambers of the Holy Synod, as of the village *papas* who labours at his plot of ground, or, with a train of pack-animals picks his way along the boulder-strewn bed of some water-course in trackless Pindos.

Within doors, though the parish priest may put off his tall hat and outer garment, he is seldom to be seen less formally apparelled. And in the mountain villages what more appropriate night-attire for an ecclesiastical person than a thick homespun *rason*: though holy tradition be silent and the Greek country parson abed be subject to no such irksome canonical prohibitions as his brother, tending his flock beneath the vigilant eye of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is strictly charged that in the interests of decency, gravity and order, he shall not wear "any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet".

It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed description of the liturgical vestments of the Greek clergy. "It would be impossible", asserts Dr. King, "to give a description of the habits of the clergy . . . to an English reader without the assistance of figures: for as we have none which resemble them so we have no names in our language to express them by." The reader who would learn to distinguish an *epigonation* from an *epitrachelion* or would comprehend the mystical signification of

6: McNeill - H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

CHAPTER 1

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Like other countries struggling under the impact of western technology and ideas, contemporary Greece is a land of sharp contrasts. Donkeys with loaded panniers on their backs still jog down the broad avenues of modern Athens oblivious to the stream of automobiles passing them by; and the donkeys' owners daily hawk their wares, with piercing and immemorial cries, to people living in ultra-modern apartment buildings, as well as to others who inhabit the merest hovels, clustered along nar-

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[443]
[492]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Similarly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peasants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long, least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

[Village Life]

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else 361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im- 433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages 438 of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads 241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will 433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is 433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be [464] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains [166] often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

669 the guerrillas, even in the south, where landless families existed
433 in many plains communities. The hard times that drove the hillsmen from home, gun in hand, impelled the plainsmen to stay home where there was food. More recently, the revival and improvement of agriculture naturally proceeded furthest and fastest in regions where the soil was reasonably fertile and abundant. Hence, the plains villagers have been able to achieve far better results than the hillsmen from technical and marketing changes. They have property and social status to defend, and know quite enough about Communist agrarian policy in neighboring countries to distrust beguiling words from Communist lips.

The farmers of the plains are therefore not revolutionary, even though they may grumble about present hardship, and envy others better off than themselves. They have seen quite enough of the violence and suffering which revolutions, or attempted revolutions, involve. The hillsmen, too, have suffered, and do not love violence for its own sake. But, unless I am much mistaken, they remain potential revolutionaries.

Town Life

369 Just as the combine and the sickle join in uneasy partnership
• 184 to harvest the wheat fields of Greece, so also in the towns an age-old style of life is set side by side with a few completely up-to-date factories and the most modern urban amenities. The juxtaposition in an urban context is no less awkward than in the country.

443 Particularly in the north, where Turkish times are still within
369 living memory, in towns like Janina or Kozani, one can see streets where artisans pursue their trades in little shops just as their predecessors have done for centuries. The old medieval principle still holds, whereby shops dealing in the same goods

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrarian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece. By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is between those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

Before turning to an account of what particular villages have done, however, it might be well to say something about village leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 break down. The more elaborate social stratification and intri-
578 cate economic integration which the development from simple
565 village into small town involves carries with it a special vulner-
ability: vulnerability to fluctuations in distant markets, and vul-
nerability to social stresses within the community itself. This is
perhaps the price Old Corinth has to pay for its remarkable eco-
nomic progress in recent years.

x 178 This progress may remind us that there is another sense in
621 which the social structure of Old Corinth shows itself far more
556 flexible and hospitable to innovation than the other villages de-
scribed. For while family and marriage customs have not under-
gone important modification, the occupational patterns of the
community have shown important changes; and in at least one
instance a landless and once very poor man has risen to a posi-
tion of wealth and importance by becoming a successful mer-
chant. Old Corinth has given far more scope to individual and
cooperative enterprise than either Lofiscos or Nea Eleftherohori.
Yet this development, too, is in line with old Greek tradition.
The self-made man, particularly the self-made merchant or
storekeeper, rising to wealth and respectability by virtue of his
mother wit and shrewdness in buying and selling, has been a
prominent figure in Greek society for at least two centuries; and
it has always been the marginal man in the village social hier-
archy — the man who has had no land to keep him busy — who
has naturally gravitated to such occupations when opportunity
has opened. Innovation in Old Corinth has thus taken tradi-
tional forms.

x 178 Since 1912, rural Greece has been fundamentally divided be-
● 184 tween villages like Old Corinth, which can look back to genera-
423 tions of substantially undisturbed evolution, and those villages
621 where within recent memory radical governmental intervention
entirely transformed earlier landholding patterns. The division
is geographical. In Old Greece, meaning Greece within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Villages of the Plains]

boundaries that existed before 1881, village life has not suffered drastic upheaval since 1821, if then. Changes have come slowly and by evolution. The case is far otherwise in New Greece – Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus and Thrace. There the violent elimination of Turkish landlords and peasants through war was followed by governmental creation of egalitarian peasant communities. This amounted to an agrarian revolution from above, in some cases fully satisfying the peasants – as in Lofiscos – but often failing to do so, as in Nea Eleftherohori.

The slower evolution of village life in Old Greece has meant, at least until the present, the preservation of a fairly firm cake of custom, governing the daily lives of the inhabitants. In this respect, Old Corinth is quite typical. Consequently, in spite of the contrast between rich peasant and landless laborer, the social stratification within these peasant communities has not bred so many revolutionists as have been bred by the hardships of life in an equality of poverty, characteristic of many villages in the north. Conservatism, royalism, traditionalism have all centered in the south; while radicalism, republicanism, restlessness and revolution have found their strongest expression in the north.

Yet while these generalizations are true, I must hasten to add that the villages of the plains never were the main centers of political revolt. Too many had too much to lose in such communities. Rather it was in the hill villages, where life was harder and the prospect of maintaining a given standard of life was dimmer, that revolution found its most congenial ground. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, if not before, this has been the really vulnerable point in Greek society, the source of major disturbance and of recurrent civil violence. In the hills, even more than in the plains, the future stability or instability of Greek society is likely to be decided in time to come, as it has in times past. Let us therefore leave the plains and turn to the hills.

/66 cont./
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort.

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks.

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey. These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more /68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk (gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not make his living in this population and was planning to move to a larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without reward.

782 [755] [776] [778] [751] [754] 515 184 [851] [178] [164] [165] 262 291 515 [369] 759 164 [515] [752] [759]

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/For information on differences between house types of rural and urban areas, and between different geographical areas of Greece, see category 116, pp. 1-53./

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to the more general study, outlined above.

● 184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
* 342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[591] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bungalow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards improve, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphically on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can find each of these forms in the explanations given at them.(1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein.—I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coast-wise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse. 178

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions. 178 203 831

There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future. 178 184 [189]

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings. 178 476

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and